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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Kim Alan Ross, age 1, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Randolph Ross of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He won first prize in a baby contest sponsored by the finance committee of the Wisconsin State Conference.—Photo by Stitt

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John C. Streator, Jr.

DR. Z. ALEXANDER LOOBY, *NAACP national board member from Nashville, Tenn., shows his Association life-membership plaque to A. Z. Kelley (C), president of the Nashville branch, and Mrs. John C. Hull, chairman of the local membership life committee.*

An analysis of the long range prospects of Negro suffrage, especially in the South

The American Negro and his Government—1961*

By Emmett E. Dorsey

THE political philosophy which motivates most Negro voters is that of the American variant of welfare stateism. Since 1936 most Negro voters have supported the policies of the New and Fair Deal elements of the Democratic party. Some two-thirds to four-fifths of the total Negro vote has been cast for Democratic candidates — hopefully Democrats who reflect the ideology and policies of contemporary American liberalism. This large majority of Negro voters desires government specifically to:

Expand significantly social welfare and security programs;

Implement thoroughly and universally the civil rights and civil liberties of the Federal Constitution.

Negroes advocate positive government with a social welfare emphasis. The Negroes' conception of relevant and valid federalism is one which provides a relationship of the federal to the state governments that permits comprehensive and effective programs of civil rights, security and welfare for the total population. Social welfare projects designed to compensate for the deficiences of the national economy and to assure a minimum decent standard of living for all are necessarily national in scope. Thus they are federal government projects. Such welfare oriented programs are indispensable for the strengthening of the economic, social and cultural position of the most depressed segments of the society. Lest we forget, the U. S. Labor Department reminds us that the present average earnings of Negro males is fifty-eight per cent of that of white workers. And then there

* An address delivered to the 52nd annual convention of the NAACP on July 11 at Philadelphia, Pa.

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is the hard fact that Negroes are just beginning their intergration into the industrial labor force — still the last to be hired and the first to be fired. All know of the much greater incidence of Negro unemployment especially during depressions and recessions—often twice as great as that among whites

The burgeoning Negro middle class is not economically based in major industry, commerce, agricultural production or finances. It is recruited from civil servants, professional workers and from the area of small business operations serving primarily the Negro community.

As welfare programs expand civil service job opportunities increase. And it is relevant to note that at the present time more than eleven per cent of all full-time civilian workers in the U. S. are civil servants, local, state and national. As the political strength of Negroes increases there will be a closer approximation of the democratic principle that all citizens have an equal competitive right to all civil service positions. Recently Negroes have significantly improved their position in this area of job opportunity—especially in the non-southern states and cities. There appears to be a direct correlation between local, state and national civil service job opportunities for Negroes and the size and political importance of their vote.

Self-employed Negroes, in the professions and in business, are economically dependent primarily on other Negroes — basically working class Negroes and to a lesser extent middle class Negroes. This is as true now as it was in 1936 when Abram L. Harris in his *The Negro As Capitalist* charted the unhappy course of Negro business enterprise. The point currently is made by James Q. Wilson in his penetrating study of the urban Negro community. He asserts: "Almost all Negroes of any stature are dependent upon the Negro rank-and-file for power, income, and status. The Negro publisher, insurance executive, doctor, lawyer, politician, NAACP officer, and real estate broker all derive their position or market from other Negroes."[1] Thus a governmental policy designed to promote full production and full employment and to cushion the harshness of periodic technological unemployment, protracted illness and old age is basic to the well-being of the Negro middle class. Indeed, without such a government policy, middle class Negroes would be few in number and most precariously based.

PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

Further, as to the philosophy of government held by Negroes and the kind of government they desire, a "State's Rights" Negro is a *rara avis*. As L. D. Reddick puts it:

This rejection [by Negroes] of State's Rights broadens into a general liberal Americanism. As Gunnar Myrdal has shown in his *American Dilemma*, the basic American and Negro creeds are identical. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are radical enough for most Negro Americans. Their 'rights' campaigns are thus constitutional and legal, and the only qualification that they would tie to patriotism is that it not be jim crow. Federal aid to public and social services are highly regarded. Similarly Negroes may be counted upon as allies of organized labor and other such economic and social action groups

—unless they draw a color curtain around their programs of progress. . . . In a word, the southern Negro (as well as his northern brother) favors the welfare state and liberalism if he himself is not discriminated against en route to Utopia.[2]

A strong civil rights posture by government is a fundamental requirement of authentically democratic societies. The need of Negroes for government to pursue a vigorous civil rights policy is basic—basic because there is imbedded in the culture of the American society drastic restraints and even denials of the civil rights of Negroes. In their most extreme form these abridgements of the civil rights of Negroes are expressed by the thorough and complicated southern state structure of segregation law. No jim crow law is virtually limited to the South. There is, however, throughout the U. S. an elaborate system of segregation and discrimination practices, ideology and social etiquette. The purpose and effect of these denials of the civil rights of Negroes are to limit drastically the Negroes' participation in the life of the community—to render Negroes second class citizens. Further, these denials are a prerequisite to the almost complete social immobility by which American Negroes are circumscribed. It is this lack of social fluidity—a basic purpose and result of racism—which encumbers the Negro's progress. With this impediment he cannot advance with the society as a whole. Thus the long continued and now accelerated and intensified "rights" struggle of Negroes.

The recent political performance of Negroes suggests that Negro political activists agree with the analysis above. There is evidence, however, that most Negroes and their political leaders are not adequately aware of the crucial role of civil liberties in the civil rights struggle. Civil liberties and civil rights are inseparable. They are interdependent. The status of *civil rights* is fundamentally conditioned by the prevailing climate of *civil liberties*. The recent crude attempts by southern states to render the NAACP ineffective by denying the organization and its members their First Amendment rights have been salutary. These frantic actions of the southern states' governments have dramatized to Negroes the fact that civil rights can be muted and curbed by abridgements of Constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties. There is need of greater realization that the people and interests that seek to curb civil liberties are also the enemies of civil rights. Further, the Negro whose need is for fundamental economic, social and ideological reform is dependent on free speech, free press and free assembly —dependent because without these freedoms his unpopular "rights" efforts will be smothered. The policy, that Negroes and their organizations, should not participate in the struggles against McCarthyism, the loyalty committees of the Congress, and similar state and local activities is wrong — it is self-defeating. The record clearly demonstrates that the anti-civil liberties forces seek to promote conditions that are inimical to all aspects of the civil rights struggle.

Those who would accuse Negroes and their organizations of communism because of a civil libertarian

emphasis now level the same charge because of their opposition to civil rights. The friends of the Negro are also defenders of civil liberties. The Negro's most vigorous allies in his "rights" struggle are precisely those people and organizations which emphasize the necessity of defending and even expanding civil liberties. Just look at the list of organizations which frequently join with the NAACP in many of its civil rights efforts.

URBANIZATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

With the exception of the Jews, Negroes are the most urbanized segment of the American population. Over eighty per cent of non-southern Negroes are congregated in the larger cities and even in the South the Negro is now more urbanized than the whites. Over two-thirds of the southern Negroes live in southern cities.

As Samuel Lubell observed nearly ten years ago: "This urbanization of the Negro, which is going on apace in both the South and the North, lends special urgency to the civil rights issue." And, "in the cities, the relationship of Negroes and whites is impersonal, in the South as in the North. Also, the Negro is being forced to find a new place for himself economically, and discrimination is far more critical in urban than rural living."

Lubell asserts a fact basically relevant to the Negroes' political participation: "The more complex society becomes the more the relations of groups and individuals become a matter of regulation by law. The color problem is no different. As a larger proportion of the Negro population is drawn into industrialized life, it becomes ever more important for Negroes to have their rights defined by law." [3]

"To have their rights defined by law" is precisely the objective of the Negroes' political thrust. In the North and West significant success has attended this effort. Negroes vote and participate freely in the politics and governments of these areas. And witness the almost blanket coverage throughout these states of FEPC and anti-discrimination laws and ordinances. In the South, however, Negro rights frequently are denied or drastically curbed by government and by law. There the effective agency, in this area, remains the federal government.

The Negro's present political role is largely a product of the Great Migration from the South. Beginning with World War I the Great Migration has continued with accelerated pace. Soon more than one-half of the Negro people will reside in the North and West. The 1960 Census indicates that New York now has the largest Negro population of any state—1,417,511. The 1,087,931 Negroes of New York City (14 per cent of the total) constitute a Negro population which not only is several times larger than that of any southern city but exceeds the number of Negroes within most southern states. Only Texas—1,187,125; Georgia—1,122,596; and North Carolina—1,116,021 have larger Negro populations than the City of New York. It should be noted, however that although several northern states have Negro populations as large as or larger than those of most southern

and border states the relative percentages of Negro to white populations are much greater in the southern states. The data of the 1960 Census relative to these comparisons are interesting and relevant:

Southern & Border States

State	*Negro Population*	*Percent of Total Population*
Alabama	980,271	30.0
Arkansas	388,787	21.8
Florida	880,186	17.8
Georgia	1,122,596	28.5
Louisiana	1,039,207	31.9
Mississippi	915,743	42.0
North Car.	1,116,021	24.5
South Car.	829,291	34.8
Texas	1,187,125	12.4
Virginia	816,258	20.6
Kentucky	215,949	1.1
Tennessee	586,876	16.5
Oklahoma	153,084	6.6
Dist. of Columbia	411,737	53.9
West Virginia	89,378	4.8

Northern & Western States

State	*Negro Population*	*Percent of Total Population*
Calif.	883,861	5.6
Conn.	107,449	4.2
Delaware	60,688	13.6
Illinois	1,037,470	10.3
Indiana	269,275	5.8
Mass.	111,842	2.2
Mich.	717,581	9.2
N. J.	514,875	8.5
N.Y.	1,417,511	8.4
Ohio	786,097	8.1
Pa.	852,750	7.5

USA RACIAL COMPLEXION

A glance at the 1960 Census figures on the racial complexion of the Nation's twenty-five largest cities demonstrates that during recent years—especially the last two decades—the southern Negro has repeated the performance of the European immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century era. Low-income Negroes have preempted the slums of the great cities. They cluster in the center of these metropolitan areas just as did the poor white immigrants of an earlier era. The descendants of these white immigrants have been assimilated. They have substantially improved their economic and social condition and have moved to the suburbs.

The masses of Negroes in the great cities of the North are compelled to struggle against the malignant influences of the slums. Their politics necessarily must relate basically to the need of mitigating the horrors of slum living or of escaping from the ghetto. Thus their major local political concern is with such issues as housing, hospital facilities, work-opportunity, better schools and unemployment, health and old-age insurance. The acuteness of the urban Negro's need in these basic areas is augmented by the racial issue. He cannot escape the slums as did the children of the European immigrants. His assimilation at best is partial and that largely limited to the elite of his race. Relevant and effective politics for him require political alignment with the other struggling masses. In his view the Democratic party locally has been more favorably oriented toward his economic and social problems. He believes that the New and Fair Deal posture of the National Democratic

party more genuinely reflects his national interest—this in spite of the Dixiecrat elements in the party and their power in Congress.

The "balance of power" strategy of many Negro leaders apparently is not working out as planned. For instance, the Negro presidential vote in the last three elections was as follows:

	1952	1956	1960
Democratic	79%	61%	68%
Republican	21%	39%	32%

Incidentally, the white vote in these presidential elections was:

	1952	1956	1960
Republican	57%	59%	51%
Democratic	43%	41%	49%

Thus Negroes voted very differently in these presidential elections.

Mr. George Gallup comments upon this poll as follows:

Kennedy's support from Negroes came not only from the Northern big cities, but also from Southern Negroes and Negroes in small cities and towns.

In the South and the North, nearly seven out of ten Negroes voted for Kennedy.

Ironically enough, it was undoubtedly the Negro vote in some Southern states which kept those states in their traditionally Democratic column. Throughout the South, 52 per cent of whites voted for Nixon.

In the Nation's largest cities—over 500,000 in population—three out of four Negro votes were in the Democratic column.

The G.O.P. has always hoped—in view of the fact that they do not have a Southern white 'wing'—that it might once again win back the once heavily Republican Negro vote.

But apparently pocketbook considerations were the overriding factors among Negroes at all age levels.[4]

Richard M. Scammon, then director of elections research at the Governmental Affairs Institute, analyzed the November 1960 Negro vote for *The New Republic* of November 21, 1960. He noted that:

The Negro shift is more dramatic than most. In 1956, in his campaign for re-election, President Eisenhower had made marked gains among Negro voters. These gains had been more substantial in the South than in the North, but substantially they were all over the country. In 1952 Adlai Stevenson had been able to keep most of the Negro vote intact for the Democrats, but by 1956 a part of it was willing to go Republican—at least for the White House. Not a majority by any means, for even in 1956 the Negro voter balloted about two-to-one Democratic, but the slippage was big enough to make many observers feel Vice President Nixon had a real chance for a major breakthrough in 1960 among Negroes.

The breakthrough just didn't happen. On the contrary, the shifts from Eisenhower to Kennedy were among the biggest in the country. To cite specific examples in Nouthern states: On Chicago's Negro south side, 5 wards voted 62.5 per cent for Stevenson in 1956 and 78.1 per cent for Kennedy in 1960.

Philadelphia's Ward 47 ran 74.3 per cent for Stevenson, 84.3 per cent for Kennedy.

Pittsburgh's Ward 5 was two-to-one Democratic in 1956; in 1960 the court ran close to four-to-one. The percentages: 67.7 per cent and 78.4 per cent.

Three Negro Assembly Districts in Manhattan and Brooklyn voted 64.2 per cent for Stevenson, 75.2 per cent for Kennedy.

These figures were typical voting patterns among Negroes in the North and underline the literally vital role of the

Negro vote in key states of the industrial North and Middle West. In New Jersey, won by Kennedy by 30,000 votes, the Negro vote was at least 125,000. In Illinois, held by less than 10,000 for Kennedy, Negro voters exceeded 350,000. In Michigan, won by Kennedy by 65,000, the Negro vote minimum was 225,000.

NATURE OF NEGRO VOTE

Other analyses of the Negro vote such as that of Anthony Lewis in *The New York Times* of November 27, 1960, stress the fact that the November 1960 Negro vote was strongly Democratic.

The Republican party nationally exerts considerable effort to win the Negro vote, but with little sucess. Then there are Republican governors such as Dewey and Rockefeller and some Republican mayors of the larger cities who have been able by appointments and support of FEPC and anti-discrimination laws, to appeal to the Negro's race consciousness. They cannot, apparently, by these efforts, surmount the Negro's consciousness of his lower economic class status. Negroes continue to vote Democratic.

Is this virtual identification with the Democratic party beneficial to Negroes? Can they in this way exert the maximum of influence on government? Will not the Republicans attempt to organize a victorious coalition without Negro support? The answer of Negro voters to the first question is that they cannot support the Republican party which in their view represents economic policies inimical to their interests. As to the second question it cannot be answered in the abstract. Negro voters assert that they vote for the party which they believe more genuinely identifies itself with their basic interests. Democratic Negro voters argue that the Republican party when it had their support did little for the Negro—certainly not the things now urgently needed by an urban Negro population. And the contemporary Republican party gives little evidence that even with massive Negro support it would so drastically revise its basic philosophy that it would become a welfare state political party. And further, the bargaining with both parties by means of shifting party support has only limited practicability. Thus the logic of the Negro's political stance is that he must achieve sufficient power and influence within the Democratic party for it effectively to reflect his interests.

Finally, it appears that the evolution of Negro political activity in the North is approaching a stage reminiscent of the development of the Irish, German or Italians in American politics. At first these minorities produced demogogic political leaders closely associated with the underworld. The political machines built by these charismatic minority leaders became powerful. Politics, in time, became respectable. It afforded careers for those of talent —careers which provided influence, power and status. The educated, the elite, were attracted to politics.

The northern Negro now has four representatives in Congress and an impressive number of public officials in all branches of northern state and local governments. Politics and government service in the North will

increasingly offer to trained and sophisticated Negroes satisfying careers. The quality of Negro politicians will improve. The reluctance of educated Negroes to participate actively in politics is diminishing. As the quality of Negro political leadership improves the effectiveness of the Negro in politics will increase.

SOBER FACTS

There are several sober facts which should be kept in mind when an analysis of the political activity of southern Negroes is attempted. Among them are: (1) The Negro represents only about twenty-five per cent of the population of the South. (2) Although there is a reluctant permissiveness of Negro voting in the larger cities of the South, in the rural and small town areas there is usually vigorous opposition to Negro registration and voting—and it is effective. The relative isolation, the low cultural level, the lack of organization and leadership and the economic dependence on whites militate against significant Negro voting in the rural and small town areas of the Black Belt. It is in these sections where presently the most determined resistance to Negro voting occurs—where the drama of Macon County, Alabama, and Ouachita Parish, Louisiana, and several similar local loci of resistance is being played out.

Margaret Price in her valuable *The Negro and The Ballot in The South* summarizes on this point as follows:

> Most of these counties are in a rough arc extending from southside Virginia to East Texas—the old plantation country or Black Belt. Here is to be found still the highest ratio of Negroes, though their numbers are diminishing through migration to the cities of the South, North, and West. This historic agricultural region has lost much of its economic importance, but not its political dominance. The Old Black Belt, which, through inequitable legislative apportionment dominates the politics of several states and heavily influences the politics of others, is the area of highest Negro concentration of population, and of discrimination.[5]

(3) A sense of powerlessness and even futility prevails among southern Negro citizens. The white supremacy orientation of all southern politics, the explicit or implicit anti-Negro posture of southern politicians at all levels and the apparent omnipotence of the political power elite inevitably blunts Negroes' enthusiasm for political participation. Apathy and indifference to politics on the part of the rank and file of Negroes is a result of the social environment of the South. It is everywhere, even in the large cities. In Atlanta, Georgia, "the New York of the South," where there are no legal or extra-legal impediments to Negro voting and where Negro leaders have conducted a strenuous attempt to influence Negroes to register and vote only about twenty-nine per cent of the legally qualified Negroes are registered and less than sixty per cent of these Negro registrants actually vote. The picture is much the same for the other large cities of the South.

The Southern Regional Council study of southern Negro voting concludes that as regards Negroes' apathy and indifference or fear or caution in this area:

> To many Negroes the long range rewards for voting scarcely seemed worth

the risk. Too often they still could make a choice only between equally vociferous racists, waving the banner of white supremacy. Too often, also, they were excluded from the inner circle of local political parties, had no hope of one of their race winning elective office nor promise of immediate concrete benefits from their vote. It was not surprising that many were unwilling to face possible threats to their jobs and credit, their homes and even their personal safety.

To Negroes in the more depressed rural areas, the turmoil during the period of transition in the South from an old to a new order only increased their problem. With low education and economic levels and the opportunity to improve either one lagging behind that of the white community, the emphasis on bread before ballots remained.[6]

(4) Although the number of Negro registrants increased dramatically from an estimated 150,000 prior to the *Smith v. Allwright* decision of 1944, to possibly some 1,400,000 in 1960, there is no evidence that the southern Negro vote has influenced southern state governments or southern representatives in Congress. On the contrary, the volume of legislation from southern state legislatures designed to block or impede school integration, Negro voting and the activities of the NAACP and other anti-discrimination organizations, activities and leaders, has been massive. All southern representatives in the Congress have fought all civil rights legislation, the Supreme Court anti-segregation and civil rights decisions, and all executive attempts to enforce thse laws and court decisions. Only some of the border state Senators and Congressmen have given restrained support to this new posture of the National Government.

NEGRO POLITICAL POWER

Despite these almost overwhelming difficulties and discouragements southern Negro leaders courageously and relentlessly are pressing for greater political participation. Negro political power in the larger cities has been successful in mitigating the harshness of local government. City officials are made to exercise some concern for the rights and needs of the local Negro population. There is, however, "no reason to expect a sudden, dramatic rise in the number of Negro voters in the South, for the obstacles which have restricted Negro voting in the recent past are still strong."

Margaret Price continues:

> The influence of basic national forces indicates that the long range prospect is for a steady, if slow, growth in Negro suffrage in the South. As Negroes improve their educational and economic standing, their interest in voting can be expected to grow. Along with this growth should come an expanded, experienced leadership. If the trend toward urbanization continues, more Negroes can be expected to vote in cities, which are generaly more permissive. The existing new federal agencies also may be expected in the long run to encourage more Negroes to exercise their basic civil rights.[7]

In the border states the political ferment among Negroes is stronger. Negroes in Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma influence state government and their national representatives. There is much greater representation of Negroes in city and state governments.

Possibly the most significant achievement of southern Negro voters has been their role in recent Presidential elections. The Negro

vote in several southern states has been the margin of victory for the candidates of both parties. Such achievements by the southern Negro voters result in greater consideration by Presidents—and Presidents can do much to aid Negroes in their struggle for advancement.

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NO. 10,000—Rabbi Emmet A. Frank (R), is the 10,000th NAACP life membership subscriber. He is shown here presenting a check for his initial payment on his $500 life membership to Kivie Kaplan (C), co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee, and Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, a committee member. Both are members of the NAACP board of directors. Rabbi Frank aroused the ire of Virginia segregationists a few years ago when he attacked the Byrd machine and jim-crow from the pulpit of his Alexandria, Va., synagogue.

CONGRATULATED—*Kivie Kaplan congratulates Father Theodore Gibson of Miami, Florida, as he receives an NAACP citation. The occasion was the Ministers' Breakfast held during the 52nd annual convention of the NAACP in Philadelphia, Pa. Father Gibson was principal speaker at the breakfast.*

Davis Studio

QUEEN CROWNED—*Rev. M. L. Cooper, Jr., pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Waco, Texas, crowns Mrs. Esther Robinson as the "Freedom Queen" of the Waco-McLennan County branch.*

A review of some of the adjustment problems faced by West Indian immigrants in England

West Indians—Britain's New Colored Citizens

By Hartley M. A. Sutton

EARLY in 1961, the British Sunday newspaper, *The Observer,* published a series of articles which reported an investigation by Mr. Mervyn Jones, a journalist, into Britain's colored minority. Among other things, these articles revealed that one percent of Britain's present population was colored (about the same proportion as that of whites in Kenya).

About half of these, some 250,000 people, are British subjects who have migrated from the islands of the West Indies to live and work in Britain's larger cities. This is the first time that Britain has had such a large colored minority.

For a long time there were colored people in such dock areas of Britain as Cardiff, Tyneside, Liverpool and the East End of London, where people for centuries have been used to seeing merchant seamen of various shades; there was always a floating supply of dark-skinned students. But numbers were inconsiderable, and very few colored people have until recently come to be regarded as permanent residents in the country

With this large influx of West Indians, who have been migrating to Britain at the rate of some 22,000 per year since 1955, race relations in Britain have entered a new phase, and have threatened this hitherto hospitable haven for refugees with its first "color problem"—as the race riots in Notting Hill in 1958 so readily remind us.

Being myself a migrant from the West Indies, I am often asked in England: "Why do so many of your people come over here?" To that I reply: basically for the same reason that English people migrate to Canada, and Australia or Puerto Ricans to New York—we migrate in the hope of obtaining a larger slice of the world's economic cake.

West Indians have always been on the move. The islands, which have

HARTLEY M. A. SUTTON, a recent visitor in the USA, has lived in London, England, for the past five years. He is a graduate of London University and a specialist in the field of race relations.

for centuries been harnessed by Britain to produce sugar, do not hold for the majority of us the attraction which people from wealthier shores see in them. They lack natural resources, and sugar has certain disadvantages as a source of labor. It is a seasonal crop, and so keeps people occupied only part of the year. Besides, sugar from the islands has been suffering continually from the competition provided by sugar from Cuba and from European sugar-beet. At the same time, the traditional landowners, whose initiative was vital if other industries were to be developed, have been slow to make any change. As a result the majority of the islands have found themselves tied slavishly to a perishing economy.

Most important of all, is the fact that "working in the fields" was always regarded as the lowest of unskilled jobs, fit only for illiterate people. You did not send your child to school in order that he might come to work in the fields when he left school. He looked for something better. He was expected to.

SEEK EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

But where could he look? Where on the islands could he find alternative employment of the quality which he could consider suitable for his "education"? True, some people could become clerks, secretaries, elementary school teachers, or get into the civil service, and, more recently, commercial banks; but how could an economy so heavily geared to unskilled agricultural work meet the needs of a growing literate and ambitious population?

So the West Indian looked elsewhere. Prior to the immigration restrictions imposed by the McCarran Act, they came to the United States, and one does not have to look far in the larger cities of this country before one finds a West Indian or someone of West Indian parentage. In those days it was America that people regarded as the land of opportunity, the place where you went to better yourself, socially and economically, the land where, as our folks used to say, "a man was a man."

The islands of Curaçao and Aruba too, where the Dutch have established large oil refining works, provided a market for a great part of the West Indian labor force. Thousands of men and women filled the waiting lists of agencies all over the Caribbean in the hope of getting to these islands: the men as skilled or unskilled workers in the refinery; the women as domestic help to the expatriate Hollanders who worked on these islands.

The attitude of West Indians to the countries to which they migrated was based on factual knowledge about the economic advantages to be obtained there. Before leaving home, the West Indian knew quite well that he would have to work hard, and probably long hours; but that was no deterrent. The fact was, he would be working; he would be earning; he would be making "a man of himself"; he would be acquiring possessions, and, when he returned home to resettle or on vacation, prestige. This was no myth; there was abundant proof. You had only to look around you and you saw your neighbors wearing smart-look-

ing clothes which you knew came in that parcel from America last week; or you heard the gossip that so and so in Curaçao was sending money home to buy himself a house. This was success; enviable success which caused you to lament your unlucky fate at having to remain at home.

Restrictions in immigration to the United States, and a glut in the labor supply in the Dutch islands, have led West Indians to make their most recent, and somewhat spectacular exodus: the trek to Britain.

Perhaps it was through the small number of serviceman and merchant seamen from the West Indies who found themselves in Britain, when she made her postwar economic recovery, that West Indians at home found out Britain was, as they said, "opening up." Full employment was on the way. Letters were sent back telling of job opportunities, of such domestic amenities as constant and convenient water, electricity, and sometimes, even refrigeration facilities, which, however inadequate they may appear in England, sound much more sophisticated to West Indians in rural communities than what they were used to. Then came the parcels and the pounds, and the news that you could work and go to night school. These factors combined to create what we may call the economic "pull."

The British Nationality Act, passed by the United Kingdom Parliament in 1948, included West Indians as citizens of the U.K. and Colonies, legally entitled to the same rights and duties as the native-born Englishman in the eyes of British law. The law did not mean much in practical terms so long as the West Indian remained in the West Indies; once in England, however, it entitled him to the status of full citizenship, with the legal opportunities for employment, rights of free movement, and liabilities even to be drafted to serve in the Armed forces as other citizens.

EMIGRATION TO ENGLAND NEW

The idea of going to England to improve their economic position is new to West Indians. But we had been steeped in British traditions. We were educated to regard Britain as the "mother country," to think of ourselves as sharing the English heritage with the Englishman. Names like Buckingham Palace, Whitehall, Marble Arch, Westminster Abbey rang a bell for everybody. They were like Meccas which the poor man might see only if he could make enough money to go over to England to be educated. On Empire Day—which incidentally is celebrated only in the "Empire," not in Britain—we sang at school, with somewhat ironic pride: "Britons" [presumably including ourselves] "never never, never, shall be slaves."

It was this "Englishness" in our background which came in for the greatest shocks, and caused us the most frustration, once we arrived in England.

In the West Indies, the vast majority of us had known only those English people with middle or upper middle-class values, or those who had acquired them in the West Indies: the high ranking civil servant, the parson, the bank clerk, the manager of a sugar estate. They represented to us what all English people

must be like. They were educated; they were upright—at least so it appeared to the majority of us.

In Britain we were pulled up short. Suddenly we realized for the first time that not all Englishmen were rich, influential, and educated. White men were doing menial jobs they fought, they swore and misbehaved worse than many of us had done. Worst of all, they seemed to know so little about us, and often asked us questions as: "Where did you learn to speak English?" or "Which part of Africa is the West Indies?" or "Are you the Indians who we see fighting against cowboys on the telly?"

To us, such questions did not only show abysmal ignorance; they were the first slap in the face of the lifelong illusion which we had held: that we were British! When we have to search for jobs, or for a place to live, experiences of rejection help further to confirm that most British people regard us as aliens.

Take jobs first. While it is often not difficult for West Indians to get unskilled jobs—in factories, on building sites, on subways, trains and buses—they do not find it easy to get jobs which call for greater skill or responsibility even if they have such skills. A survey, carried out by the Institute of Race Relations in London, and published in a recent book *Colored People in Britain* (Oxford University Press, 1960) reports that several West Indians who hold the General Certificate of Education (which is the highest qualification usually required for office work) have been forced to take up factory work after "looking fruitlessly for an office appointment."

My own experience confirms this. I have found it futile to look down the advertisement columns of any daily newspaper in the hope of being able to apply for an advertized office-work vacancy with any confidence. A couple of years back I went job hunting and answered an "advert" in the evening paper by telephoning the firm which had advertized a clerical vacancy. It was confirmed by telephone that the job was still available, and I was asked to come down to the office immediately. Once on the scene, however, I was told the job had been taken. This kind of frustration is well known by all of us.

HOUSING PROBLEM

Accommodation provides an even bigger problem. It is here that some white people in Britain actually advertize their prejudice. In many areas well over sixty percent of the advertisements which appear in the local newspapers and in the newsagents' display window are discriminatory, with such phrases as "Sorry, no colored," "Europeans only" or "Colored people need not apply" written at the end. They have become so frequent that I find I actually save myself a lot of time when looking up "adverts" by starting each one at the end.

At first it is tempting to say that these are merely expressions of individual preferences; yet it is terrifying to think that such preferences are so strong as to compel newspaper and housing agencies to condone prejudice, since they might lose sixty percent of their advertisers if they did not.

A few months ago a local newspaper in Kensington reported the story of a family which was evicted from an apartment after having lived there for more than ten years. The housing agency claimed that it was contrary to the terms of the lease to let the apartment to colored people, and that when the apartment had been rented the wife in the family had not disclosed to them that her husband was colored.

The following correspondence which passed between myself and a well-known accommodation bureau in London may be of interest to readers:

My letter, dated 17th April, 1961:

Dear Sir,

Early in September last I was seeking accommodation and answered one of your advertisements for flats by phoning your office. The attendant who answered confirmed that flats were available, and invited me to come down to your office for further details about them. However, when I came to your office, the receptionist at the counter informed me (with regret) that 'none of our landlords accept colored people.' This seemed an extraordinary generalization for a bureau of your size and scope, but there it was, the walls were up against me. It was a staggering experience.

In one of a series of articles on race relations in London which I am now preparing for publication in popular journals both in this country and overseas, I have related that experience to illustrate that even reputable agencies like your own perpetrate a policy of discrimination on the grounds of skin color only. Yet, quite recently, friends of mine, Indians, (who, incidently, regard themselves as 'colored people') were able to find accommodation through your bureau.

This seems to me somewhat of an anomaly, and I think it is only fair to find out, before publication of these articles, whether there is some reasonable explanation for such an anomaly.

They replied, 21st April, 1961:

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter of 17th April in which you mention an anomaly.

This company spends a great deal of effort endeavoring to find accommodation for colored people but, unfortunately, since there is a great shortage and the necessity for utilizing agents services for filling such accommodation does not arise, it is extremely difficult for us to assist.

You will appreciate therefore that no anomaly exists, we regret that we were unable to help.

Government bodies and public service authorities like the transport, hospital, and post office authorities represent in Britain what is the official attitude to West Indians: that we are legally entitled to equal treatment with other British citizens. They have therefore been the biggest employers of West Indians, and local government authorities have been among the first to accept suitably qualified West Indians on their clerical and professional staff. Those who read the recently published book *To Sir With Love* (Prentice Hall, 1960) by E. R. Braithwaite, who was born in British Guiana, will recall that it was the London County Council which eventually recognized his qualification as a university graduate, and engaged him as a school teacher. I worked for two years with the L.C.C., and at no time did I feel that my color would play any significant part in my chances of progress with the

Council. I had the same feeling, too, in the Armed Forces, into which I was drafted to do two years National Service.

In the present circumstances, however, official bodies seem unable to do much to help us with our difficulties in obtaining adequate housing. Most of the cities to which West Indians are attracted are already overcrowded. Local government authorities are rebuilding in many areas, but it will be some time before the majority of West Indians can get apartments in these new houses, since they are allocated on a "first come, first served" basis and West Indians are usually the most recently arrived residents.

OVERCROWDED CITIES

You may well ask where do the 250,000 West Indians in Britain live. Like all previous migrants to Britain, they have been shunted into the shabbiest part of the large cities where they work. Over the past years, however, West Indians, both as individuals and as groups have been buying houses in these shabby areas. It is here that the greatest amount of tension arises.

In the earlier part of this year I did some house to house interviewing among West Indians who lived in one of these areas, and ever so often I could observe the tension which existed in a house owned by a West Indian landlord who had part of it rented to white people. At the bottom there is certainly prejudice and resentment on both sides, but these are reinforced in the West Indian by a strong desire to make money. Usually a house which a West Indian purchases is already occupied by white tenants who have probably lived there for a long time in unfurnished accommodation. This brings in far less rent to the new owner than it would have done if it were rented as furnished accommodation. The new owner (who probably paid much more for the house than he needed to) thinks: "If I could get those people out, I could rent my place furnished and make about four times as much rent." Strong economic motivation!

So he tries to evict the tenant—usually white, and if he succeeds, puts in another — usually colored, who may be so desperate, he will pay anything to get a place to live. The general effect of all these forces is for colored ghettos to develop. There would probably never be a Harlem in England, but some sections of Britain's larger cities will become serious community problems if present trends in housing patterns are allowed to continue.

As the number of colored people in Britain increases, the traditional *laissez-faire* of British official policy may find itself somewhat out of step. It seems that the dilemma will be how to give fair treatment to the West Indian as a citizen and at the same time take account of his different needs caused by the fact that he is a colored migrant in an environment which is not entirely friendly to him.

What happened at the last census is a case in point. A few West Indians who did not understand what they had to do in a census became suspicious when a white man appeared on the doorstep with a form on which they were to give personal

details. As there was much talk about deporting West Indians back to the islands at that time, some of them refused to give these details, for fear that this man might be fixing their deportation orders, and even became hostile to the census enumerators. This made headlines in the British press.

It seems that a little previous thought would have saved a great deal of misunderstanding. Those who were responsible for organizing the census in areas where many West Indians were known to be living, could perhaps have done a little extra canvassing, using the services of more enlightened West Indians, both for this and for the enumeration work.

COMPLACENCY DANGEROUS

It took the riots in Notting Hill in 1958 to point out the danger of complacency in race matters in Britain. Since then a number of organizations have come into being to help with this process of adjusting British society to this whole new phase in its development.

The Migrants Services Division of the West Indies Commission provides welfare, publicity and diplomatic services for the West Indian migrants, and has a program for organizing recreational and social facilities by which English and West Indian people may get to know each other better.

The British-Caribbean (note the hypen) Association provides a basis for co-operation between people from both groups from the top level downwards. It has the blessing and support of many leading political personalities both in England and in the West Indies.

The National Council of Social Service in Great Britain provides special services for West Indians, through West Indian Advisory Committees, in those areas where they live in large numbers.

One or two local councils are engaging the services of suitably qualified West Indians as teachers and social workers. They see this as a useful means by which better relations may be fostered between the races. Not only does this enable West Indians to feel more confident when dealing with institutions where other West Indians hold positions of responsibility; it gives a number of English people their first opportunity of seeing West Indians in such positions.

At the same time, more and more "colored" organizations are being formed. A glance at the list of "organizations active in the field of race relations in London," compiled by the London Council of Social Service, shows that such things as "Colored Citizens' Associations," "Colored People's Housing Associations." and "Colored Citizens' Motorist Associations" have recently come into being. These have in all cases arisen to fill needs which none of the existing institutions were providing. In many cases separate individuals who have had difficulties with some policemen and other public servants have started organizations with the hope that they could deal more effectively with such difficulties. A recent development I have heard about is the "Colored Businessmen's Association" which is being formed

because more and more West Indians who open businesses are finding difficulty in getting people to work for them.

Many of us are not too happy at these developments. We had hoped that in Britain where there is a strong tradition of fair-play to all, we would have been able to get on without them. But it is clear that these organizations grow out of the special difficulties which West Indians encounter in an effort to survive as citizens in British society, and appear to be necessary at the present time. No firm steps have yet been taken to outlaw public expressions of race prejudice, and the "Keep Britain White" groups, the slogans like "Blacks go Home" which one sees occasionally chalked up on the walls are a constant source of embarrassment to those of us in Britain who regard racial cooperation as an attainable ideal.

This is a testing time for race relations in most of the countries of the world. Britain has contributed much to the world in the field of human relations before. It would be a pity if she could not do so again.

The responsibility for this rests with us all.

$3,000 CITATION—*Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, awards special citation to the Harlem Welfare Center staff for outstanding achievement during the Association's 1961 drive. This group raised $3,000, including a $500 life membership. From L, front: Mesdames Helen Taube, V. Kanner, life membership and fund-raising chairman; Magda Luft, Mr. Wilkins, Genevieve Eason and Edwin Burke. Rear: Thomas McDonald, Vivian Sadler, Gertrude Singhe, Alvin Anthony and Ruby Marcelli.*

Cecil Layne

Looking and Listening . . .

RACIAL INTEGRATION

THE Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights has issued a report on Connecticut attitudes toward racial integration. We quote a few pertinent paragraphs:

Prepared under the direction of Dr. Henry Stetler, supervisor of research, the study was designed to evaluate the effect, if any, in the Negro and white communities of Connecticut of the drive to achieve school desegregation in the South. It was thought that mounting racial tension and conflict elsewhere might exert some pressure on interracial relations in Connecticut.

The majority of white (55 percent) and Negro (65 percent) persons interviewed felt that the drive to desegregate schools in the South had had some effect on race relations in Connecticut. In most cases, these same respondents felt that the effect had been of a positive nature, in the sense that relations between the races seemed to be improved. Only a third of the respondents of both races felt that the southern situation had had no effect in Connecticut. Those positive results mentioned most frequently were an increased awareness of racial problems, an increased sense of ethical responsibility, and improvement in attitudes toward Negroes.

In Connecticut, problems of school desegregation and the franchise were settled by statute in 1868 and 1876. It was eighty years later that legislative measures were passed to eliminate discrimination in housing and employment. Implementation of these statutes to ensure full equality of opportunity for all is a major goal of the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission.

There is probably fairly wide agreement that the ultimate aim of nondiscriminatory legislation is to facilitate the integration of the Negro in the total community. Although real gains have been made in reducing discimination against Negroes, the fact remains that a wide gulf separates them from the white community. This is obvious from the continued resistance to integration in public and private housing and in organizational and social life.

In planning the study, it was decided that direct interviews with white and Negro people from all segments in six major metropolitan areas would provide information about the hopes and fears of both races concerning integration. Relevant, precise and clear questions were formulated pertaining to the concept of racial integration in general and specific situations. Additional questions were prepared to determine the frequency and types of actual interracial contacts.

Interviews were conducted by Negro and white interviewers with 527 Negro and 556 white respondents. The sample was selected for the purpose of making interracial comparisons of various segments of the population in metropolitan areas, since 85 percent of the Negro population is in these areas.

After being asked for his own version of the meaning of racial integration, each respondent was asked whether he considered as desirable now white and colored people taking part together in everything that goes on in the com-

munity. One-fifth of the white respondents and three-fifths of the Negro respondents answered affirmatively. . . .

Status is undoubtedly a factor affecting the reaction of both races. Whites are concerned with maintaining it in terms of their own image and tend to consider Negroes a threat. Negroes are concerned with achieving status in the sense of gaining political, economic and social equality. Negroes have found through long and bitter experience that segregation in any area carries with it the stamp of inferiority. It has meant lower grade jobs, poorer schools, inferior housing and second-rate accommodations. Apart from any desire to mingle freely with whites, there is the realization that access to better things is difficult if not impossible when segregation prevails. Racial integration offers many advantages, political, economic, social and psychological.

In answer to other questions, a much greater proportion of Negro than white respondents felt there should be more interracial contact. More than four-fifths of the Negroes as compared with one-third of the whites indicated that they thought people from the two groups 'should get together more.' Forty-five percent of the whites considered that things are 'all right as they are' and 8 percent thought there should be less interracial contact. White and Negro respondents agreed that there should be more opportunities available to Negroes in employment, education, housing and public accommodations. However, about twice as many of the Negroes felt there should be more social interaction through acceptance in clubs and organizations.

'The attitudes of the 527 Negroes interviewed etched a crystal-clear picture: There is no aspect of our Connecticut community life with regard to which as many as one Negro in ten was opposed to complete racial integration. For most areas of activity, the ratio of

FIRST DAY OF INTEGRATED CLASSES—*Unaware of the fact that she is one of the first Negroes to attend previously all-white Dallas, Texas, schools, a first-grade Negro girl joins two of her white classmates as they peer from the window of the City Park elementary school in Dallas.*

UPI

Wide World

INTEGRATED FIRST GRADE—*Negro students start attending classes at Alamo School in Galveston's west side. Alamo, with 20 Negroes, has a majority of the 37 Negroes who broke the racial barrier in the Galveston, Texas, public schools.*

Negroes opposed to integration fell closer to one in one-hundred. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds wanted complete racial integration, defined as Negroes and whites taking part together, without regard to race, in everything that goes on in the community, now.

'In contrast, the attitudes of the 556 white persons interviewed presented a much more complex picture. They displayed, in general, a decidedly ambivalent attitude toward integration, apparently viewing the community scene as one made up of discrete situations, in some of which integration is quite acceptable, in others not at all.

'Nevertheless, some generalizations about their attitudes are possible. There was no aspect of Connecticut community life about which a majority of the white respondents expressed downright opposition to racial integration. However, no matter what the area of activity examined, no matter how long discrimination and differential treatment in that particular type of situation had been illegal in Connecticut, approximately 25 percent of the white group merely tolerated integration—they 'accepted but did not encourage. . . .'

STATE DEPARTMENT

ON August 18 the U. S. State Department held a conference on equality of employment opportunity, within the Department, in which about fifty Negro leaders and officials of human-relations organizations participated.

Rusk told the group that both President Kennedy and he believe strongly that American personnel overseas ought to be representative

of all the American people, and that it is not yet the case to the extent that we would like it to be.

He said that one reason the Department is seeking bright young Negroes to take the Foreign Service examination and competent, experienced Negroes for appointment to middle and high-level jobs is that the Department is faced with a serious shortage of talent.

But the State Department also has a "selfish interest" in seeking more qualified Negroes, Rusk said. He explained:

"The biggest single burden that we carry on our backs in our foreign relations in the 1960s is the problem of racial discrimination here at home. There is just no question about it.

"We are dealing with forty or fifty new countries that have become independent since 1945, and we are living through a decade of readjustment of the relationships between Western Europe and the rest of the world—a decade when the white race and the non-white races have got to re-examine and readjust their traditional relationships.

"Our attitude on a question of this sort is of fundamental importance to the success of the foreign policy of the United States."

Rusk said Americans must work zealously to remove the burden of racial discrimination and that "one of the first things we must do is ensure that our own Department and our own Foreign Service prove themselves on this point."

To point up the magnitude of the problem, Herman Pollack, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Personnel, pointed out that the Department has 4,570 civil service employees of whom 1,064 are Negroes.

However, he said, 85 per cent of the Negroes are in the bottom ranks (GS 5 or lower), earning $5,830 or less. The highest ranking Negro civil service employee was a GS 13 (in the $10,000 to $12,000 pay bracket).

The top civil service bracket is GS 18 with annual pay of $18,500.

Pollack also said that estimates based on a "head count" indicated that of 3,732 Foreign Service officers, 17 are Negroes; of 1,140 Foreign Service Reserve officers, 3 are Negroes, and of 3,527 members of the Foreign Service Staff (secretarial and clerical), 38 are Negroes.

Pollack pointed out that past racial discrimination is not the sole cause of the paucity of Negroes in the professional services of the Department.

He said that of 59 students from predominantly Negro colleges who took the Foreign Service Examination in December 1959, not one passed. The examination is given and scored without knowledge of the race of the examinee.

Administrators of the predominantly Negro colleges were asked to help determine whether the top-ranking Negro students have been shunning the examination, or whether there are steps the colleges should take to better prepare their students for such examinations.

ALABAMA BUS BURNING

NINE men have been indicted on charges of burning an interstate bus near Anniston, Alabama, May 14, 1961, according to an an-

Wide World

INTEGRATION FIGURES—*The eight Negro pupils who figured in the integration of four previously all-white high schools in Atlanta, Ga., pose at a local luncheon. From L, front: Mary McMullen, Rosalyn Walton, Damaris Allen and Madelyn Dix. Rear: Lawrence Jefferson, Martha Holmes, Willie Jean Black and Donita Gaines. Two others were not available. Miss Allen announced that she had withdrawn as a prospective transfer student.*

nouncement of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have arrested seven of the men, another is already in jail on burglary charges, and the ninth is hospitalized, Mr. Kennedy said.

The two-count indictment against them was returned sealed on August 31 by a federal grand jury in Birmingham. It charged that the nine firebombed the bus "with a reckless disregard" for the lives of its passengers.

These included seven "Freedom Riders," traveling through the South to test segregation practices at bus terminals.

The indictment named the following, all of the Anniston area, as defendants:

Kenneth I. Adams, 41; William Oswell Chappell, 39; Jerome Byron Couch, 25; Roger Dale Couch, 19; Jerry Ronald Eason, 22; Frank B. Johnson, 42; Cecil Lamar Lewallyn, 22; Frank J. Tolbert, 54; and Jerry Zenith Willingham, 21. Eason, Johnson and the younger Couch are the three arrested earlier.

Eason, Johnson and the younger Couch were arrested May 22 on a commissioner's complaint charging them with participating in the bombing and burning of the bus. They were each freed on $5,000 bond.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, said the following seven men were arrested by FBI Agents in the Anniston area: Adams, who resides at Route 3, Box 269 in Anniston and is self-employed with the Adams Oil Company in that city; Chappell, who resides at Route 3, Box 162-B in Anniston and is self-employed as an upholsterer; Jerome Byron Couch who resides at Route 2, Box 81-A in Munford, Alabama, and is employed as an electrician in an Anniston foundry; Eason, who resides at 3427 Bibb Street, Anniston, and is employed as a flower arranger there; Johnson, who resides at 500 Glen Addie Apartments, Anniston, and is employed in the Maintenance Department of the Anniston Housing Authority and is married; Tolbert, who resides at 600 Pine Avenue, Anniston, and is self-employed as a storekeeper there; and Willingham, who resides at Route 3, Box 117 in Anniston and is employed at a valve company there.

Lewallyn suffered injuries in an automobile wreck August 13 and is currently confined to Anniston Memorial Hospital. Roger Dale Couch is presently confined in the Calhoun County Jail in Anniston on local burglary charges. U. S. Marshals will file a detainer against Couch and take custody of Lewallyn today.

Mr. Kennedy said the first count of the indictment charged the nine men with conspiring from May 5 to damage and set fire to the bus and force white and Negro passengers to get off.

The second count charged the nine with carrying out the conspiracy by breaking windows in the bus and tossing "an explosive and other destructive substance" inside, shortly after it left Anniston.

CHESNUTT MARKER

NEARLY three decades have passed since Charles W. Chesnutt reached the end of a uniquely colorful career as teacher, lawyer, story writer, and novelist. But his memory has persisted both in literature and in community life. Of the four markers recently erected by the Cumberland County Historical Society to the memory of outstanding community leaders of yesterday, one points up the memory of Charles W. Chesnutt.

The marker stands near the lawn of the Gillespie Street Public Library, a site on which the old Howard School once stood. Chestnutt's father contributed toward the erection of the school and Charles was one of the early pupils there. At the unveiling ceremony, Crawford MacKethan, president of the Cumberland County Historical Society, presented as speakers Fayetteville's Mayor Robert Butler and Dr. J. Ward Seabrook, president-emeritus of the Fayetteville State Teachers College.

Chesnutt was largely a self-educated man; the fact that his were exceptional talents may account in part for the exceptional opportunities that came to his. To offset the dearth of reading materials available to Negro youth in Fayetteville, a member of the City School Board, Dr. Edward Lilly, whom Chesnutt came to know invited the youth to make complete use of his library, reputed to be the best in the com-

munity. Chestnutt did.

Despite his position as principal of the State Normal School (later the Fayetteville State Teachers College), Chesnutt soon recognized that his talents could not be brought to full fruition in the South, the southern mores being what they were. Three years later, law and creative literature beckoned and Chesnutt gave up his work as a school administrator and followed them.

Before long Chesnutt, following a short sojourn in New York City, made his way back to Cleveland, Ohio. There he gave himself up wholly to literary pursuits.

The color line that had occupied a good deal of his previous thinking was perhaps intensified in his new surroundings. It is small wonder that along with many of his stories, such of his famous books as *The Conjure Woman, The Wife of His Youth, The House Behind the Cedars, The Marrow of Tradition,* and *The Colonel's Dream,* point up social realism as in one way or another it applies to the color line. Charles W. Chesnutt was not only the first distinguished Negro author of short stories and novels, but in some respects stood among the foremost American novelists of his day.

MARKER *erected by Cumberland County Historical Society, Cumberland, N. C., on June 5, 1961, in honor of Charles W. Chesnutt's contribution to his local community.*

52
CHAS. W. CHESNUTT
1858 - 1932
Negro novelist and short story writer, teacher and lawyer. Taught in a school which stood here.

Were YOU Aboard the "FREEDOM BUS?"

From Washington down through the Deep South, the Freedom Riders have been testing bus station segregation . . . have been taking another giant step toward the goal of full equality for the Negro.

It can be a long, lonely terrifying ride when you've met with clubs, guns—and fire. Yet there were no vacant seats on the "Freedom Bus"!

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Your "Ticket" on the "Freedom Bus" can be a LIFE MEMBERSHIP subscription in N.A.A.C.P. Climb aboard—fill out and mail the membership coupon today!

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☐ I enclose check for $500 in full payment of my Life Membership.

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Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to your local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. or to national headquarters in New York, can make you a LIFE MEMBER.

Send to your local branch or the National Headquarters

NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Editorials

ATLANTA AND DALLAS INTEGRATION

". . . To expound the meaning or moral of his signs and tokens."
Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*

OUR reaction to the token public school integration in Atlanta, Georgia, and Dallas, Texas, is mixed. We are pleased, naturally, that these two southern cities began integration though token, in a peaceful manner; but alternatively we cannot forget that this token step was taken seven years after the Supreme Court decision declaring public-school segregation unconstitutional. Furthermore, it was not done out of sympathy for the Supreme Court's decision, nor out of a desire to advance the educational welfare of Negro children. The move was dictated by necessity and economic selfishness, since the Federal Courts have made it clear that local school boards cannot close their schools to avoid integration and the violence and racial fanaticism of Little Rock, New Orleans and other places have been proved an economic liability.

What we must not forget is that this is token integration—not integration. As NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins has pointed out: "The Association is far from satisfied with the continued token quantity of desegregation. We will not be satisfied as long as the vast majority of school children of both races continues to attend segregated schools. Token integration is not enough for us, for white children, or for the country."

The Atlanta and Dallas experiences also suggest that from now on the responsible elements in southern cities and communities are likely to take control of integration situations with positive aims and constructive plans, since they now realize that the old segregative maxims are inapplicable. When the South's public schools opened this fall, new desegregation policies had been inaugurated in 29 districts in eight states, and now only three states —Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina—have complete segregation throughout their systems of public education.

Me must pay tribute to the NAACP branches in Atlanta and Dallas for their hard work in rallying support for desegregation, in explaining the terms of the desegregation plans to parents, and in persuading applicants to apply for transfers to formerly all-white schools. Without their unglamorous, hard work, the integration plans in these two cities might well have failed for want of applicants for transfer.

"GEORGIA TECH"

THE Georgia Institute of Technology ("Georgia Tech") deserves a kind word for voluntarily admitting three Negroes on September 18th. This is the first time a Georgia public-education institution has voluntarily ad-

mitted Negroes. President Edwin D. Harrison handled the change in "routine fashion" and there was neither violence nor disorder. The three Negro students are Ralph A. Long, Jr., Ford Greene and Lawrence Williams, all of Atlanta.

AFRICAN ENVOYS IN U.S.A.

WHILE we commend the efforts of State Department officials and others to take steps to end the racial incidents involving African envoys, we must also remind these same officials that they must likewise take steps to free America of the racist attitudes which create incidents for her own colored citizens. Probably the two most publicized incidents have involved the New York police: the first was that of Ferdinand Oyono, a permanent delegate to UN from the Cameroon; the more recent one involved Michel Collet from Guinea. In 1960 Mr. Oyono said he was stopped on a New York street near the UN building because of his color. Mr. Collet was involved in a fight with a policeman and a taxi driver. Other publicized incidents have involved African envoys and private restaurant owners on Route 40 in Maryland. Route 40 runs from the New Jersey state line through Baltimore and then westward and is frequently traveled by diplomats driving from the UN to Washington.

We boast of our democratic freedoms and stress the dignity of the individual, but we American Negroes and visiting Africans have often discovered that these "democratic freedoms" do not apply to persons with dark skins. As a world power and the leader of the "Free World" we can no longer afford the luxury of jim-crow, segregation, and second-class citizenship. Thirty-four years ago the French sociologist André Siegfried pointed out (in his *America Comes of Age*) that once the USA entered international life her "Negro problem" would cease to be domestic—it would become international. And with the cold war and UN headquarters located in New York our racial practices are now the focus of world attention. The world looks to see if our democratic preachments are also our practices.

"THE WORLD'S DELIGHT"

PHILOMENE CROI THEODORE, a colored girl from New Orleans who became famous under the pseudonym "Ada Isaacs Menken," has been made the protagonist of Norman Della Joio's new American opera, "Blood Moon," presented in a world prèmiere in San Francisco in September. In the opera she has been rechristened Ninette La Fond and she admits her mixed racial ancestry. As an actress she became famous in her performances in *Mazeppa* and in Europe the friend of Algeron Charles Swinburne, who called her "the world's delight," Dumas père, Charles Dickens, Rossetti, and Charles Reade.

Maybe, who can tell, the use of this colored girl as protagonist in an opera will embolden other writers to dramatize the lives of other fascinating Negro Americans.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

ASSOCIATION HAILS PEACEFUL DESEGREGATION

THE peaceful desegregation of public schools in two major southern cities —Atlanta and Dallas—was hailed by NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins as "an indication that the more stable elements in southern communities have decided to take control of situation."

Mr. Wilkins also paid tribute to "the vital but little publicized role of the NAACP branches in these cities in effecting the change-over from segregated to non-segregated systems of public education.

"The pioneer role the NAACP played in establishing the illegality of racial segregation in public education is well known," he asserted. "However, the painstaking, unglamorous hard work done by the Atlanta and Dallas branches in rallying support for desegregation, in explaining the terms of the desegregation plans to parents, and in persuading applicants to apply for transfers to formerly all-white schools has been quietly performed with little public notice. But without it, the plan in both cities may well have failed for want of applicants for transfers."

It now appears, the NAACP leader pointed out, "that no major city in the South is willing to risk the experiences of Little Rock and New Orleans. The responsible business elements in southern cities have at last realized the damage desegregation violence inflicts upon the prestige and economy of their cities. They seem determined to keep the local hoodlum elements under control."

Further, he observed, not only has desegregation in 1961 been achieved without violence in a score of southern cities, but much of it has been the result of volunteer action without the necessity of specific court orders. In at least 14 communities, local school boards voluntarily initiated desegregation programs.

While pleased with the peaceful aspect of 1961 desegregation, and with the breakthrough against long tradition, Mr. Wilkins noted, the NAACP is "far from satisfied with the continued token quantity of desegregation. We will not be satisfied as long as the vast majority of school children of both races continues to attend segregated schools. Token integration is not enough for us, for white children, or for the country."

In Atlanta, the NAACP branch, under leadership of its president, Dr. Samuel W. Williams, organized and conducted the campaign of interpreta-

tion and recruitment essential to the implementation of the school board's plan. Aiding the branch in this campaign were Amos C. Holmes, NAACP field secretary, Dan Byrd of New Orleans, and June Shagaloff of the New York office. Only nine Negro students were admitted to four "white" high schools in that city.

Similar quiet, effective work was carried on in Dallas where the branch established a special education committee under the chairmanship of Rev. Rhett James. Mrs. M.A. Flanagan is president of the branch. Assisting the branch officers in the campaign were Clarence A. Laws, the Association's Southwest regional director.

The pre-school opening educational and recruitment program was carried on by the branch. The complicated requirements for transfers were explained to parents by a team of NAACP workers. Parents of eligible children were urged to apply for transfers. Of some 200 who indicated interest in filing for transfers only 67 were apparently eligible and of this number only 18 were actually enrolled in previously white schools.

REVIEW OF ALABAMA CASE SOUGHT

THE Association has asked the United States Supreme Court to review lower federal court judgments requiring the NAACP to await action by Alabama state courts to determine the validity of an injunction banning Association activity in that state.

The petition for a writ of certiorari was filed with the Supreme Court on August 10 on behalf of the Association by NAACP attorneys Robert L. Carter of New York City, Fred D. Gray of Montgomery, Ala., and

FIRST CASH LIFE MEMBERSHIP *in the Passaic, N. J., NAACP was taken out by William Gurtman, former city attorney, last April. He aided two worthy causes by paying for his membership with State of Israel bonds. Pictured from L are Dr. Wallace Haddon, life membership chairman of the Passaic branch; Mr. Gurtman; Mrs. Marion West, branch treasurer; and Mitchell Hill, branch president.*

Cecil Layne

EDWARD BROOKS *of New York City receives plaque for his $500 life membership in the NAACP from Dr. John A. Morsell (L), assistant to the Association's secretary.*

Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham. It seeks to bring to an end a five-year stalemate during which the NAACP has been enjoined from any and all activity in the State of Alabama.

Association activity in the state has been suspended since July, 1956, when Alabama Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones issued an injunction banning the NAACP from operating in the state and further imposed upon the Association a fine of $100,000 because the organization refused to disclose its list of members and contributors.

In the meantime, the case has been twice carried to the United States Supreme Court which in June, 1958, invalidated the fine and returned the case to the State Supreme Court with a mandate for a lower court trial of the suit on its merit. The Alabama Supreme Court refused to abide by the ruling of the United States Supreme Court. On appeal, the U. S. Supreme Court again reversed the Alabama court in a decision handed down in June 8, 1959.

Throughtout the period, efforts of NAACP lawyers to get the state courts to pass on the validity of the injunction decree proved unavailing. On June 23, 1960, the NAACP instituted proceedings in the United States District Court. The District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals, with Chief Judge Tuttle dissenting, held that the trial of the case on its merit should be held in a state court.

Asserting that their efforts to secure action in Alabama courts have been futile, the NAACP lawyers petitioned the U. S. Supreme Court for a review of the judgments of the lower federal courts.

The petition alleges that the right of the NAACP "to a hearing to determine the legal and constitutional validity of . . . the injunction has been obstructed through a deliberate, purposeful and prejudicial use of state court process and procedures, despite petitioners' persistent efforts to be heard and two decisions of this court ordering a hearing be afforded."

There remains little doubt, the petition continues, "that unless the federal court asserts jurisdiction, petitioner will not be granted a hearing on the merits of this cause in the forseeable future."

The revival of the NAACP in Alabama depends upon the outcome of this case. But more is involved, the petition asserts. "The case raises an issue of fundamental importance to the administration of justice and the integrity of the court process in the United States. That is, whether petitioner, after being subjected to a penalty, can obtain relief in the federal courts when state officials by procedural maneuvers and deliberate design indefinitely deprive it of redress," the NAACP points out.

The Court's attention is called to the anti-NAACP role and words of Alabama Governor John Patterson and Circuit Court Judge Jones. "It should be remembered," the petition says, "that these proceedings were instituted by Attorney General John Patterson, now Governor of the State, who as a part of his gubernatorial campaign pledged 'an all-out fight against the NAACP.' He stated, '. . . I promise you that I will continue, as I have

LIFE MEMBERS *of the Richmond, Va., branch receive their NAACP life membership plaques at a special life-membership program. NAACP church secretary, Rev. Edward Odom, delivered the main address.*

Scott Henderson

in the Attorney General's office, to wage an all-out fight against agitators like the NAACP.' . . . the Circuit Court Judge, before whom the case is pending, made a similar re-election campaign pledge in a televised statement,' I intend to deal the NAACP, and its counterpart, the Montgomery Improvement Association, a blow from which they shall never recover.'"

It was this same Judge Jones who last May issued an injunction restraining Freedom Riders from entering Alabama.

INTIMIDATION LAID TO FORT LAUDERDALE POLICE

THE Fort Lauderdale, Florida, branch has called upon the U. S. Department of Justice to halt indiscriminate arrests of local Negroes who are engaged in efforts to break the color bar on local public beaches.

Not only have Negroes been molested on the beaches but scores of teenagers have been arrested in police raids in the heart of the Negro district.

In a letter to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, on August 8, Mrs. Eula Johnson, president of the branch, enclosed affidavits from five persons charging police brutality and false arrest.

"On behalf of the Negro citizens of Ft. Lauderdale," Mrs. Johnson wrote, "I am requesting that you use your office for the purpose of preventing the police of Ft. Lauderdale from using their powers to prevent the free and uninterrupted use of public facilities in this city."

The raids, she told the Attorney General, stem "from efforts of the City of Ft. Lauderdale to curtail the use of the Ft. Lauderdale Municipal Beach by Negroes by invoking an ordinance which bars 'undesirable persons' from the beach."

Meanwhile, on August 9, a motion for a mistrial was granted in the Municipal Court trial of 12 teenagers who had been arrested in weekend raids on charges of disorderly conduct and inciting a riot. Witnesses testified that there had been no riot or disorderly conduct. The young people were picked up at a drive-in lunchcounter, a popular gathering place for colored youths, in the heart of the Negro district.

On motion of NAACP attorney G. E. Graves, a mistrial was declared because police witnesses were present during the taking of testimony from friendly witnesses.

Despite police intimidation, "the NAACP will continue to urge Negroes in the city to make use of all public facilities owned by the City of Ft. Lauderdale and . . . to demand that citty officials exercise heir duties to protect all citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights," Mrs. Johnson declared following the raids.

MICELLANEOUS

THE Ohio National Bank, Columbus, Ohio, has for the first time hired two Negro girls for other than menial work as the result of an employment drive being conducted by the local branch.

PATRICIA ISBELL *and Barbara Brown (R) of Columbus, Ohio, have entered training to become bookeepers at the Ohio National Bank, Columbus.*

The young women, Misses Patricia Isbell and Barbara Brown, entered training to become bookkeepers at the bank, following a lengthy NAACP drive to break job barriers in this city's banking institutions.

NAACP officials predicted that "two other banks are likely to hire Negroes, in other than menial jobs, in a very short time." The NAACP is referring prospective workers.

The local NAACP unit spokesman said "we have a long list of places where Negroes are not employed, or used only in menial categories, and will be sending employment teams to talk with top officers of each."

Heading the job campaign committee is David D. White, Columbus attorney. Russell M. Jones is acting president of the branch.

George K. Hunton, a member of the board of directors of the Association and executive director of the New York Catholic Interracial Council, has been awarded the 1961 St. Francis Peace Medal by the Third Order of St. Francis in North America.

The Peace Medal was awarded Mr. Hunton "in recognition of his outstanding work in the interracial apostolate."

Mr. Hunton is the second NAACP board member to receive the medal. Previously, it had been awarded to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations

JOHN WESLEY DOBBS IS DEAD, WAS NAACP VICE-PRESIDENT

THE NAACP in September mourned the passing of a distinguished vice-president, John Wesley Dobbs of Atlanta, Ga., father of Metropolitan opera star Mattiwilda Dobbs. He was 79.

Mr. Dobbs, who became an NAACP vice-president in 1957, served as Grand Master of the Prince Hall Masons of Georgia for 29 years.

For many years before taking formal NAACP office, Mr. Dobbs had raised substantial sums of money each year and contributed them to the NAACP. He and the NAACP cooperated annually on a voter registration campaign in Georgia.

"He was a great American and a fighter at all times for right and justice," said NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins in a special message to Mrs. Dobbs.

"We shall miss the inspiration and support he gave so freely," Wilkins said.

Under-secretary. The late Pope XII was the first recipient of the medal. Others include the late John Foster Dulles, Richard Cardinal Cushing, Myron C. Taylor and Dr. John Wu.

SELECTIVE BUYING DRIVE

THE Detroit, Michigan, Negro community led by the NAACP has launched an anti-bias job crusade in which selective buying is slated to play a major role.

The late John Wesley Dobbs.

As in Philadelphia, where a similar drive met with marked success, the Detroit campaign will be led by local ministers. They will work closely with a steering committee, representing all of the community's organized groups, and chaired by NAACP president Edward M. Turner.

Representatives attending the drive's organizational meeting gave full endorsement to selective buying as a "legitimate" method to be used in winning equal job rights for Negroes in all occupational fields.

They concurred that every other "just and constitutional method of eliminating racial discrimination in employment will be used to whatever extent necessary."

KENNEDY ASKED TO REINSTATE DISMISSED LETTER CARRIER

THE NAACP has called upon President John F. Kennedy to rescind the dismissal of Westley W. Law from his job as a letter carrier in the Savannah, Ga., post office on September 8.

In a telegram to the President, dated September 12, Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, chairman of the NAACP's national board of directors, cited a board resolution protesting the firing and charged that Mr. Law, president of the Association's Georgia organization and the Savannah branch, had been dismissed on "trumped-up charges."

The real reason for the dismissal, the NAACP leader told the White House, was Mr. Law's role in the struggle for civil rights in Georgia and particularly his leadership of a successful 15-month campaign "to withhold patronage from local merchants because of the shabby treatment accorded Negro customers and the refusal to lift barriers at lunch counters and to employ Negro citizens in any except the most menial categories."

The full tex of Bishop Spottswood's telegram to President Kennedy follows:

IN A RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY AT ITS REGULAR MEETING SEPTEMBER 11, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE VOICED VIGOROUS AND EMPHATIC PROTEST AGAINST THE DISMISSAL ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES OF WESTLEY W. LAW FROM HIS POST AS LETTER CARRIER IN THE SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, POST OFFICE ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1961.

MISTER LAW IS A MEMBER OF OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE GEORGIA STATE ORGANIZATION OF THE NAACP AND OF ITS SAVANNAH UNIT. IN THE LATTER CAPACITY HE HAS DIRECTED FOR FIFTEEN MONTHS A CAMPAIGN TO WITHHOLD PATRONAGE FROM LOCAL MERCHANTS BECAUSE OF THE SHABBY TREATMENT ACCORDED NEGRO CUSTOMERS AND THE REFUSAL TO LIFT BARRIERS AT LUNCH COUNTERS AND TO EMPLOY NEGRO CITIZENS IN ANY EXCEPT THE MOST MENIAL CATEGORIES.

IN AN AGREEMENT REACHED JULY 6, 1961, THE SAVANNAH MERCHANTS CHANGED THEIR POLICIES AND THE WITHHOLDING CAMPAIGN WAS RELAXED, BUT HARDLY HAD THE REPORTS OF A

SETTLEMENT BEEN PUBLISHED BEFORE OFFICIALS IN THE SAVANNAH POST OFFICE BEGAN A CAMPAIGN TO DISMISS LAW. THIS SHAMEFUL EFFORT, PLEDGED IN ADVANCE TO A WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL AUDIENCE BY A CAMPAIGNING GEORGIA CONGRESSMAN, RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF PERSONS IN THE POSTMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE IN WASHINGTON.

THERE WAS A LULL IN ACTIVITY AFTER NAACP PROTESTS WERE FILED IN LATE JULY, BUT IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE POSTMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE HAS BEEN WON OVER TO SUPPORTING THE HEAD-CHOPPING PLAN OF THE GEORGIANS. NEGRO CITIZENS HAVE SUFFERED SAVAGE ECONOMIC REPRISALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES DURING THE PAST SEVEN YEARS BECAUSE THEY HAVE CAMPAIGNED TO ENJOY THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, BUT IT HAS REMAINED FOR A DEPARTMENT IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION TO PERMIT THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE MIGHT OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN SUCH MEAN ENDEAVORS. IF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO BECOME A PARTNER IN ECONOMIC REPRISAL AGAINST A GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE WHO EXERCISES HIS RIGHT AS A CITIZEN TO SEEK THE REDRESS OF NOTORIOUS GRIEVANCES SUFFERED BY HIS RACIAL GROUP THEN WE HAVE COME, AS A NATION, TO A LOW ESTATE, INDEED.

OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS RESPECTFULLY BUT MOST FIRMLY URGES IMMEDIATELY ACTION ON THE ADMINISTRATION LEVEL TO RESCIND THE DISMISSAL AND TO ORDER A COMPLETE AND DETAILED INQUIRY WITH A VIEW TO DETERMINING THE STEPS TO BE TAKEN AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS INJUSTICE.

THE COMPLEANOS, *a birthday club of married couples in Toledo, Ohio, make the first payment on their NAACP life membership. Club treasurer Joseph Williams presents club's check to Clifford Brown (L), chairman branch life membership committee.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Colorado: President De Soto Jordan of the PUEBLO youth council was recently elected president of the Central High student body and student council. This puts the 16-year-old senior in the highest student position the school can offer.

Young Jordan, son of the Reverend and Mrs. De Soto Jordan, displayed leadership abilities from his earliest enrollment in school. While in the fourth grade, he was elected homeroom treasurer and was a grade representative on the student council while in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades.

Illinois: On August 23, 1961, the CHICAGO branch sent the following open letter to the Negro parents of public-school children in Chicago:

The Chicago Branch, National Assiciation for the Advancement of Colored People calls upon the Negro community in particular and Chicagoans in general to strike a telling blow at Chicago's segregated school system.

On September 6, 1961, hundreds of thousands of Chicago school children will make their way to the public schools of Chicago. With few exceptions, they will be attending racially segregated schools, not because of any local law, but because of the stubborn attitude of the Chicago Board of Education which refuses to admit that Chicago Schools are segregated and that existing procedures do not provide for the equal education of pupils in the Chicago Public Schools. Mean-

NEGRO PUPILS *register at the office of Cook School, a predominantly white Chicago, Ill., school.*

UPI

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CHARALAYNE HUNTER, *first Negro "coed" to enter the University of Georgia, is welcomed to Boston by Mrs. Florence Castleman (L) and Mrs. Alice Taylor of the Boston, Mass., branch. Miss Hunter was principal speaker at an NAACP rally sponsored by the local branch.*

while, thousands upon thousands of Negro children are victimized and trapped in over-crowded, double-shift and unwielding schools, forced to a fate of an inferior education.

Community pressure, petitions, hearings and all other requests and recommendations have failed to make a dent in this wall of segregation in our schools. Therefore, the NAACP is calling for an assault on the existing practices of the School Board by urging the parents of children in these 'havens of half education' to request transfers to the nearest schools where there are either under-utilized or vacant classrooms.

The NAACP has information concerning many of the schools in Chicago which are under-utilized and hereby wishes to make this information available to all interested parents of children subject to segregated and inferior education because of the Chicago Board of Education's attitude of ignoring these conditions.

To those parents who are interested in a massive transfer request on the first day of school we urge you to call the NAACP Branch Office at OAkland 4-5400 for further information. The NAACP stands ready to support your efforts to the fullest extent.

The time is long overdue for a frontal attack on the present Chicago Board of Education policies that maintain and have even increased the number of segregated schools in our city. It is imperative that you respond to this urgent request for action and support 'operation-transfer' to break through the segregation barrier in the Chicago Public Schools.

Of Chicago's more than 430 public schools the following schools are 'All-

DR. J. M. TINSLEY *of the Richmond, Va., branch presents an NAACP life membership plaque to Mrs. Thelma Fields (R), president, Richmond chapter National Epicureans, Inc. Mrs. Helen Harvey of Danville, Va., national president Epicureans, smiles approval.*

Scott L. Henderson

Negro' or more than 95 per cent Negro, the vast majority of which are overcrowded, and almost half of which are on double-shift and other shift arrangements. Schools in areas in and around the center of the Negro community which are 'All-Negro' are:

Bousfield; Brownell; Burke; Carter; Carver (Kg-5); Carver (6-8); Colman; Deneen; Doniat; Doolittle; Douglas; Drake; Farren; Felsenthal; Fiske; Forrestville; Forrestville North; Fuller; Haven; Horner; Kozminski; Lawson; Lewis-Champlin; Manley; McCosh; McKinley; Oakenwald; Oakland; Parker; Park Manor; Pershing; Phillips; Reavis; Ross; Sexton; Shakespeare; Wadsworth; Willard; Yale; Tesla; Judd and Einstein.

The following "All-Negro" schools are within a ¾ to 2 mile radius of "All-White" or predominantly white elementary schools in the Chicago Public School System:

Abbott; Attucks; Bass; Beale; Beidler; Birney; Brown; Bryant; Burnside; Carnegie; Copernicus; Cornell; Dixon; Drew; Foster; Garfield; Gillespie; Gladstone; Gladstone Branch; Gregory; Hartigan; Harvard; Hayes; Herzl; Hess; Howland; Jenner; Kenwood; Manierre; Marshall; Mason; Medill; Parkman; Penn; Pope; Raymond; Revere Ruggles Scott; Scott Branch in Hyde Park High; Sherwood; Shoop; Smyth; Williams; Fermi; Byrd; Brainard; Suder; Haines; Ward; Ethal Allen; Schiller; Cooley (Upper Grade Center); Calhoun; Tennyson; and Neil (general elementary division only).

(The above listed schools are all elementary schools).

We strongly urge that parents of children who are the victims of double-shift or over-crowded "All-Negro" schools, especially those which are in relative proximity to "All-White" schools, to request transfers on the 1st day of school. Again we urge all parents who will support "Operation-transfer" to contact the Chicago Branch, NAACP office, immediately for more specific information.

This is an opportunity to strike a blow for democracy in public education in Chicago. Don't let it pass us by.

REV. CARL A. FUQUA
Executive Secretary
Chicago Branch, NAACP

Here are excerpts from a statement which the Chicago branch sent to Mayor Daley "on racial segregation in the Chicago public schools":

Under present conditions the City of Chicago is the victim of one of the most fantastic systems of segregated schools in the Nation. Nothing has been done by the Chicago Board of Education to eliminate the existence of segregated schools in Chicago. It is for this reason that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has called for 'Operation-Transfer' at the beginning of school on Wednesday, September 6, 1961. It is also for this reason that the NAACP opposed the reappointment of Dr. Benjamin C. Willis as general superintendent of Schools.

Under Dr. Willis' administration the Chicago Public School System ranks as one of the most racially segregated systems in our Nation. It is a system replete with unequal educational opportunities that are reflected in double-shift, overcrowded schools on one hand, and under-utilized small classroom schools on the other. The former are generally 'all-Negro' schools; the latter are, with few exceptions, 'all-white' schools. The result of this is a dual school system with dual standards of education.

We wish to cite four specific areas in which the Board of Education and the General Superintendent of Schools have failed in advancing the cause of public education in Chicago: (1) the maintenance of and increase in the number of segregated schools, which in and of itself is a tool of inferior education, (2) a growth of inferior schools due to the increase in the number of over-crowded, double-shift 'all-Negro' schools as opposed to the increase in the number of under-utilized "all-white" schools, (3) a massive building program which has become an ever-increasing tax burden to the citizens of Chicago, but has done nothing to eliminate over-crowded schools, and (4) a pattern of racial discrimination within the administration of the school system.

Although the Board of Education consistently denies that there are evidences of racial segregation or discrimination in the Chicago Public Schools, and that many of the allegations made by the NAACP and other organizations are unwarranted, the Board of Education refuses to make public certain statistical information which has been requested on numerous occasions relative to average classroom memberships by individual schools; school capacities, and vacant classrooms by school. In fact, under present conditions there is nowhere to be found any objective evidence to indicate what actually is happening in the Chicago Public Schools other than what can be gleaned through old school directories, school visitations and other cumbersome methods of obtaining information. . . .

The results of over-crowding, double-shift, segregated schools have led to a well-founded suspicion that the standards in Chicago schools generally are low. Although the Board of Education jealously guards the records of achievement among Chicago pupils, other evidence is indicative of where we stand. How many 'merit scholars' emerge from the ranks of Chicago Public Schools in comparison to other school systems in and around Chicago? How do Chicago Public School graduates rank with parochial school graduates who take the Chicago Teachers' College examination and other college entrance examinations? Many Chicago Public School pupils cannot meet minimum entrance requirements at the University of Illinois. Somewhere along the way, these pupils have been the victims of an inferior education that should not be any source of pride to those who administer the school system.

Although, the Board of Education vehemently denies it, racial discrimination does exist in the assignment and up-grading of personnel in Chicago Public Schools. Each time this is mentioned, the Board conveniently 'parades out token appointments' to appease the Negroes in Chicago. Nevertheless, discrimination still exists. Let us cite an example. There are Negro principals of 'Negro Elementary Schools.' There has never been more than one Negro principal of a general High School in Chicago and always the same High School, Wendell Phillips. Is this a coincidence? . . .

Indiana: Mrs. Charles H. Willis, president of the SOUTH BEND branch, took the NAACP message directly to the people on May 16 when she made three talks, between 8:30 and 11:30 P.M., in Dock's Bar at 727 West Ford Street in South Bend. The tavern is owned and operated by Mr. and Mrs. Fred Jones.

She collected fifteen two-dollar and one five-dollar membership during the evening, and donations varying from fifty cents to a dollar for "Operation Mississippi" from other customers who were unemployed and did not have

Marvin E. Beatty, Jr.

DONATORS—*The Business and Professional Womens Club of the State of New Jersey presents $500 check to the Atlantic City, N. J., branch for "sit-ins" but to be credited to the branch's freedom-fund quota. Pictured, from L, are Quarmott Jackson, member branch executive committee; Mrs. Pearl Harris, president Colored Womens Federated Club of New Jersey; Mrs. Noreita Rice, president Atlantic City Business and Professional Womens Club; Warren Cornelius, president Atlantic City branch; and Carrie Rounds, member Atlantic City and Professional Womens Club.*

the price of a two-dollar membership. One woman had only a dollar, but Mr. Jones gave her another dollar to make possible her two-dollar NAACP membership.

Mr. and Mrs. Jones have promised to enroll at least twenty-five new members from among their customers and salesmen during the branch's 1961 membership drive.

Iowa: The DES MOINES branch is working on housing and its 1961 membership. About forty persons picketed the city council in August, urging the council to adopt a fair-housing-practices ordinance for Des Moines. The picketing was sponsored by the Des Moines NAACP and the Des Moines Improvement Association.

Michigan: A Negro-sponsored float was entered in the Benton Harbor Grand Floral Parade for the first time this year when four southwestern Michigan NAACP queens graced the NAACP float called "Blossomland

Beauties." Miss Southwestern Michigan NAACP, Betty Nolden of Buchanan, reigned with her court, Benton Harbor's Bonita Mitchell, Cass county's Norris Miller, and Van Buren's Pearl Cameron, winners of their respective branches' titles. Six NAACP emblems punctuated the float, which was done in dark blue with French blue lettering on the sides. Pink blossoms completed the color scheme.

Van Buren county's "Miss NAACP," Pearl Cameron, 19, is a student at the Benton Harbor Community College and was the winner selected from a field of twelve contestants.

Ohio: The CINCINNATI branch is continuing its selective-buying campaign, with signs of success.

A branch conference with the managemnt of Lesourdesville Amusement Park in June succeeded in opening the park to Negroes for the first time. This park, located about five miles west of Middletown, Ohio, had never permitted Negroes to swim in the lake, dance in the pavillion, or to eat in the dining room.

Although court action in 1955 forced the Coney Island Amusement Park to admit Negroes to the park, the park still refuses to admit Negroes to its swimming pool and dancing pavillion.

Pennsylvania: A complaint filed with the PHILADELPHIA branch accuses Roofers Local #30 of maintaining a lily-white membership. It is alleged that this local will not accept Negroes as members, and because nearly all large general contractors refuse to hire non-union roofers, this practically denies employment to Negro roofers.

Virginia: The membership committee of the SUFFOLK-NANSEMOND branch awarded the branch's outstanding workers on July 30. The awards were given at the regular services of the Macedonia AME Church, Suffolk.

Rev. H. W. Bell, pastor of the church and president of the branch, introduced Dr. H. M. Diggs who presented pins, certificates of merits and prizes to Mrs. C. M. Colden, Samuel Glover, Chuckatuck, Va., Mrs. Mildred Williams, Hobson, Va., T. R. Darden, George Richards, Virginia Milan, Mrs. Hattie Crocker, Dr. L. T. Reid, Roland Harrison and Samuel Hunter. Messrs. Hunter and Harrison again led the branch for the third year in obtaining the greatest number of memberships. They received gifts of handsome luggage.

George Richard, co-chairman of the membership committee, presented the nine new subscribing life members secured during the 1961 drive. These persons and organizatons were Mrs. L. Bernice Plummer of Portsmouth, Va.; Edwards Motor Terminal, The Smart Set Club, La Vogue Club, First Baptist Church, East End Baptist Church and Dr. Oswald Hoffler have begun their first life memberships. Dr. R. H. Bland and Dr. L. T. Reid, two of the three paid-up life members of the branch, joined Dr. Margaret Reid in the purchase of their second life memberships.

My Dears,

Smart women these days are alert to world issues — Berlin, Africa, U.N., Freedom Riders, Civil Rights — and of course, they seek the best ways to help.

This Christmas everyone is joining the Substitute Christmas Card Plan for the NAACP.

So easy. Send your usual greeting card money to the NAACP with an order for announcement cards. These delightfully designed cards ask your friends to do the same, and you start your very own chain of NAACP Freedom Fund contributions.

So be current, Darling, and join the Substitute Christmas Card Plan for the NAACP.

Yours, ever

Lynx

P.S. Add NAACP Christmas seal to your envelopes, too.

NAACP
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College and School News

Welvin Stroud, a teacher in the Van Auken School, Palo Alto, California, is one of seven Palo Alto teachers taking an intensive training in preparation for the 1962-63 school year which the teachers will spend studying at the Stanford center in Tokyo, Japan.

■

Ten members of the instructional staff at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE spent the summer in advanced study at American colleges and universities.

■

Lenna Means, FSTC registrar, attended the fifth annual workshop on admission, registration, and records held at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California, August 6-11.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY'S registrar reports 28 students on its second semester honor roll: 3 freshmen, 8 sophomores, 9 juniors, and 8 seniors.

■

The Chicago committee for the FISK UNIVERSITY centennial campaign has reported, as of August, $44,015 in pledges and cash. The Fisk centennial campaign seeks to raise $6,000,000 by 1966 for the purpose of strengthening the university.

■

Marietta Dockery and Dorian Powell graduated Summa Cum Laude in June. In 1960-61, Fisk had a resident enrollment of 922 students: 866 undergraduate and 56 graduate. The university awarded, in 1961, 119 bachelor's degrees; 19 master's.

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The 42nd annual interdenominational summer school for rural and urban pastors was held on the campus of the INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER, Atlanta, Georgia, August 14-15.

■

Forty brothers of the OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC., were honored for forty years of service and devotion to the fraternity during its "golden anniversary conclave" held in Washington, D. C., August 13-18. The sixteen distinguished speakers at the conclave included Attorney General Robert Kennedy and federal housing administrator Dr. Robert C. Weaver.

■

The MILES COLLEGE trustee board unanimously elected the Rev. Lucius H. Pitts as the ninth president of the college. Rev. Pitts, executive secretary of the Georgia Teachers and

DORIAN L. POWELL
Summa cum laude
Fisk

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Education Association, succeeds Dr. W. A. Bell, who retired.

■

Randall L. Tyus, account executive for Bache & Company, New York City, was recently named associate director of CLARK COLLEGE's development program. In addition to his work as an associate director of the development program, Mr. Tyus will join the college business department as an instructor.

■

Dr. S. E. Duncan, president of LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE, was appointed in July by the state's governor as a member of the State Board of Welfare. Dr. Duncan is the first Negro to serve on the board.

■

Adolph Molone, Jr., XAVIER UNIVERSITY graduate, has been employed as a tax-examiner in the Internal Revenue Service in New Orleans.

■

MILES COLLEGE presented Mrs. John Rembert in an art lecture in July and at conclusion of its midsummer festival of arts it presented Mrs. Alka Morrow in a vocal recital.

■

The Links, Inc., and the New York City Fire Department Welfare Fund are recent contributors to the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND.

■

Seventy-seven sophomores and juniors are receiving NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS support this year at 53 interracial colleges.

■

Former "sit-in student" Charles Peabody of Southern University graduated from CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE in June.

■

The world's first bilingual, three-channel radio guide service for visitors, called *Soundtrek*, has been installed in ten major halls of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

The Museum exhibitions equipped for *Soundtrek* are the Halls of Early

MARIETTA S. DOCKERY
Summa cum laude
Fisk

REV. LUCIUS PITTS
New president of Miles College
Birmingham, Ala.

and Late Dinosaurs (Brontosaur and Tyrannosaur Halls), the Halls of African Mammals, Oil Geology, North American Mammals, North American Forests, Man and Nature, Northwest Coast Indians, the Biology of Birds, and the newly opened Hall of the Biology of Man.

■

Dr. G. James Fleming, professor of political science at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, served as director of the 1961 session of the Virgin Islands Experimental College at Christiansted High School, St. Croix, July 3-August 15.

■

Dr. Dwynal B. Pettengill, assistant professor of political sicence at Morgan, has been selected by the Citizenship Clearing House to participate in its 1961 National Seminar for Teachers of Politics.

The seminar was held Sept. 2-5 at the Forest Park Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., and was devoted to a discussion of reapportionment.

■

Problems facing the Baltimore consumer, particularly the home buyer and renter, were examined at a two-day Consumer Conference held at Morgan October 26-27.

■

HOWARD UNIVERSITY officials have announced the receipt of a $2,000 grant from the Frontiers of America for research studies into vitiligo, a skin disorder which causes a loss of pigmentation on various parts of the body. The grant is the fifth to be awarded the university by the Frontiers since the establishment of the group's National Vitiligo Foundation in 1954.

Howard has led the nation in the percentage of foreign students enrolled for the past three years and will have its largest such enrollment in history this fall when an expected 900 from 60 nations register for the 1961-62 school year.

The enrollment, which will represent an increase of some 40 students over last year, is expected to retain for Howard its position as America's leading educational center for foreign students, percentage-wise. As in 1960-61, foreign students will comprise 16 percent of the full time enrollment at Howard, an average of one foreigner for every six American students.

Book Reviews

***The Tragedy of Apartheid: A Journalist's Experiences in the South African Riots.* By Norman Phillips. New York: David McKay & Co., 1960. 217pp. $4.00.**

This is a popular journalistic account of the explosion that occurred in South Africa in March and April 1960, starting with the Sharpesville Massacre. It ends with the author's own brief imprisonment—caused by his objective reporting of the police terrorism—under the South African government's emergency decrees.

Phillips, a Canadian reporter, is at his best in his eye-witness accounts of the demonstrations by the Africans and of the terroristic acts of the South African government and its police. The rest of the book is chiefly a background summary of the development of Apartheid and of the African protest movements. The author obviously prefers the moderate Prince Luthuli and his African National Congress to the radical Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and his Pan-Africanists. He is critical of all the white political parties except Alan Paton's Liberal Party, with its aim of a multi-racial democracy, and most of whose leaders were jailed under the government's emergency decrees.

There is little, if anything, that is really new in this book, but, despite some weaknesses in the organization of material, it does provide a convenient analysis of the situation for the general reader, and some excellent eye-witness reporting.

AUGUST MEIER
Morgan State College

***The History Of The Prince Hall Grand Lodge Of Free And Accepted Masons Of The State Of Ohio, 1849-1960: An Epoch in American Fraternalism.* By Charles H. Wesley. Wilberforce, Ohio: Central State College Press, 1961. XII + 457 pp. Illustrated. $5.25. Book may be ordered from William W. Browning, 644 Miller Ave., Columbus 5, Ohio.**

The oldest fraternal order among American Negroes is the Masons, a lodge of which, African Lodge No. 459, was set up in Boston by Prince Hall in 1787, one hundred and seventy-four years ago. Actually, however, Prince Hall and "fourteen other free men of Boston" had been initiated twelve years earlier, 1775, into the British Military Lodge No. 441, which was under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. And this was before Lexington and Concord.

Prince Hall, the father of Masonry

among American Negroes, was a remarkable man. He had been born in Bridgetown, Barbados, of an English father, Thomas Prince Hall, and a free colored woman. He was a skilled craftsman, a leather worker and a soapmaker, and after he came to Boston he worked at his trade, amassed real property, and became a taxpayer and a voter. He continued educating himself by studying at night; became a student of the Bible; joined the Methodist Church; and became a minister, with a congregation at Cambridge.

The Prince Hall heritage in Ohio was taken up by Richard Howell Gleaves, who got permission from the first African Independent Grand Lodge of North America to establish a Masonic lodge in the State of Ohio. The first Masonic lodge in Ohio was the Corinthian Lodge No. 17, organized in Cincinnati in 1848. Thomas J. Springer was Grand Master from 1849 to 1851. The Grand Lodge for the State of Ohio was organized in 1849. Masonry began in Cincinnati because its colored citizens were ambitious, industrious, relatively affluent, and large numbers of them had "acquired education, property and personal culture." Ohio is called "the Mother of Masonic Lodges" because it mothered lodges in twelve states: West Virginia, Alabama, Kansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, North Carolina, Kentucky, Louisiana, Indiana, and Mississippi.

What Dr. Wesley tells is the detailed story of Masonry in the Ohio lodges and about their contacts in other states. He tells about the personalities involved and illuminates the background of Masonry in Ohio. His is a lively and brilliantly-written book. There are four appendixes: historical lists of Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and major officers; historical list of annual communications, 1849-1904, and a historical list of annual communications, 1849-1960.

J.W.I.

***Nobody Knows My Name: More Notes of a Native Son.* By James Baldwin. New York: The Dial Press, 1961. XIV + 241 pp. $4.50.**

What we have in *Nobody Knows My Name*, a continuation of *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), are the qualitative differences in Mr. Baldwin's various experiences in the United States and Europe. He is still, in a way, seeking his identity although he now accepts the fact that he is an American, and a Negro. "He may leave the group that produced him—he may be forced to —but nothing will efface his origins, the marks of which he carries with him everywhere," he explains.

Among the essays in *Nobody Knows My Name* are his perceptive initial pieces, "The Discovery of What it Means to be an American"; his analysis of the issues raised at the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists held in Paris in 1956; demolition of William Faulkner's concepts of segregation; and a three-part examination of Richard Wright as writer. When he comments on the Harlem scene his poetic fantasy often pushes reality out of the picture. Mr. Baldwin's mind and spirit have grown and he has learned, also, to evaluate men—read his appraisals of Norman Mailer and André Gide.

Nobody Knows My Name is a grave commentary on men and affairs, on life and literature; it is vibrant with Mr. Baldwin's personality, and is written in a beautiful, poetic prose.

J.W.I.

***The Souls Of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches.* By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Introduction by Saunders Redding. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1961. XIII + 192 pp. 50¢.**

Paperback reissue of a classic which first appeared fifty-eight years ago. When Dr. Du Bois first published these fourteen essays, he shocked both Americas—white and Negro. Negroes thought

such candid speaking in the era of Booker T. Washington irreverent and irresponsible; the whites, subversive and savage. As Mr. Redding remarks in his introduction: *"The Souls of Black Folk* is more history-making than historical" and it has exercised a great and beneficient influence on the thinking of American Negroes in their struggle for equal rights. This edition is in the "Premier Americana" series edited by Dr. Henry Steele Commager.

***Where The Hummingbird Flies.* A novel by Frank Hercules. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1961. 212 pp. $3.95.**

The agony of the clash between Mrs. Napoleon Walker's social ambitions and her social fear of blackness is the central theme of *Where the Hummingbord Flies.* Mrs. Walker's motives for whatever she does are, of course, mixed; but they are all in some way associated with skin color. When the story opens, she is busy making out the guest list for her forthcoming party. They must be the right people and they must not be too dark. "Mr. and Mrs. Carruthers, the Winstanleys, the Lowden-Pownalls—English people—the top—the best. If she could only—oh, why was she born black! Should she ask—this one? No-o-o-o, he was a shade too dark. His sister was all right, though—quite light. She would invite her." With Mrs. Walker "only people of suitable complexion would be entertained at No. 5479 Southampton Crescent, St. Clair."

Naturally, there are other characters and other themes in the novel. There is Dr. Napoleon Rivers, her wealthy, American-educated husband; Cephas, Dr. Walker's rent collector; Clarice, the earthy, Rabelaisian woman-of-all-work; Dr. Ivor Griffiths, the non-comformist Welsh physician; Carlo da Silva, the mulatto seducer of black girls; Mervyn Herrick, the brilliant lawyer; various local whites; obeah men and others. There are political struggles for independence, social struggles between colors and classes; and all sorts of petty snobberies. Mr. Hercules' picture of Trinidad, of which he is a native, emerges quietly through the smokescreen of the reviewer's ignorance. Snatches of local dialect, superstitions, uninhibited sex, and dozens of evocative details help to convey the atmosphere of the island. What the reader discovers in Mr. Hercules is a sense of humor and raillery, a deep awareness of the comic, and the ability to savor the whimsical aspects of social situations. As a first novel, *Where the Hummingbird Flies* is a considerable achievement.

J.W.I.

The role of race and racial prejudices in international relations is a subject which is seldom discussed in books. It is an embarrassing topic, especially for the top policy makers in the various Western Governments. They usually act on the assumption that race is nothingness in international relations despite their sub rosa and, perhaps, often subconscious acceptance of the racial realities as they impinge on policy decisions. After all they are human and they live in a highly-race-conscious world.

A young Negro, Robert S. Browne, "who has traveled and lived in forty foreign countries," has decided to tell of his experiences with race in his foreign-relations work. His pamphlet is called ***Race Relations in International Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961),** with an introduction by Roger N. Baldwin.

Perhaps the two most significant chapters are "The West's Legacy to the Colored Races" (white-supremacists attitudes and white arrogance) and "Race and the Cold War." He states: "There is a widespread sentiment to put an end forever to the superiority

complex of the whites. This feeling is to be found throughout the non-white world and is even shared by some white persons who are genuinely revolted by the 'master-race' mentality of many of their fellow men." The *raison d'être* of the Bandung Conference, he points out, was *color*, which all the white nations tried to ignore. So far Russia seems to be the only power to "have grasped this racial aspect of international politics."

Another book which is concerned with aspects of race, although domestic this time, is Nat Hentoff's ***The Jazz Life*** **(New York: The Dial Press, 1961, 255pp., $5.00).** *"The Jazz Life* is neither a history nor a technical analysis of the music. It is an attempt to explore several of the social, economic and psychological elements that make up the context of modern jazz."

The first section of the book is called "Backgrounds"; the second, "The Foreground." In section one Mr. Hentoff tells how he became acquainted with Jazz and jazz musicians in the Savoy in Boston. He writes about the use of narcotics by some jazz musicians and the drive for success and "dignity" among the players and the composers. The second section is devoted to the lives and the music of outstanding jazz composers and musicians: Count Basie, Charles Mingus, John Lewis, Thelonious Monk, John Lewis, and others. There is also a short piece on Norman Mailer and "'The White Negro'." Mr. Hentoff has written an interesting and informative book.

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James W. Ivy, *Editor*

State of New York
County of New York
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7th day of September, 1961.

Helen Greiff

(My commission expires March 30, 1962)

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